



We sleep here in obedience to law;
when duty called we came,
when country called we died.”

General George Doles’ Georgia Brigade on July 1

Matt Atkinson

July 1, 1863, 2:00 P.M.: The sporadic crack of rifles and the booming of artillery reverberated across the plain and beyond the tree line in front of the Georgians who comprised the brigade led by Brigadier General George Doles. As the soldiers sought to assuage their sore feet and dry throats, there must have been reflection on the prior two years of sanguinary conflict. So many lives lost, so many close calls for the survivors. Now here they were, after all this marching, face to face once again with their familiar foe. Maybe this battle would be the last. Maybe this battle would gain their country’s independence. Maybe after this battle, they could go home.

Collectively, the four regiments comprising Doles’ brigade, the 4th, 44th, 12th, and 21st Georgia, had seen much combat prior to the Army of Northern Virginia’s march onto the fields of Gettysburg. The 4th Georgia was organized in 1861 under the command of then-Colonel Doles to defend the nascent Confederacy. From 1861 to 1863, the regiment served consecutively in the brigades of Albert G. Blanchard, Ambrose Wright, and Roswell Ripley and participated in the battles of Seven Days (Malvern Hill), Sharpsburg (Miller’s Cornfield), and Fredericksburg.¹

At Gettysburg, the 4th Georgia would be under the command of Lt. Col. David R. E. Winn. Winn, a native of Americus, Georgia, began his military career as a first lieutenant in the Confederate army and rose through the ranks to lieutenant colonel by November 1862. Like many soldiers’ letters, Winn’s correspondence reveals a deep concern for his wife and children. In one particular letter, Winn sought to assuage his wife’s fears about the possibility of his death in battle:

I cannot tell you, my dear wife, how seriously I have felt in regard to our country's condition, I am certain that our cause is a righteous one, and consequently confident that it will succeed, but whose blood will purchase this success, what particular man must die, I cannot, of course, conjecture; this is with God. I do hope that the gloomy fears of the possibility of my being one of the victims, and our never meeting again, may prove to be unnecessarily distressing you. At any rate, our all depends upon every citizen doing his duty. It is useless to tell you ... that I am not expecting danger here. It will certainly come.²

The 44th Georgia was formed in March 1862, in response to Governor Joe Brown's proclamation "to organize and prepare to strike for our liberties, our families, our homes, and our altars." The regiment received its baptism of fire at the battles of Mechanicsville and Malvern Hill in the brigade of General Roswell S. Ripley. Out of the aggregate strength of 514 men led into the Seven Days campaign, only 114 unscathed survivors emerged.³

Samuel P. Lumpkin commanded the 44th Georgia at Gettysburg. A physician before the war, he left his practice to accept a captaincy in the regiment. By June 1862, he had been promoted to lieutenant colonel. Subsequently, he received a wound at Malvern Hill but returned to lead his command into Pennsylvania and through all future campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia.⁴

The 21st Georgia was one of the first regiments to be organized in response to President Jefferson Davis' call for troops in 1861. In 1862, the Georgians were assigned to the command of "the bravest of Marylanders and most chivalrous of gentlemen" -- General Isaac Trimble. Trimble's brigade participated in Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's Valley and the Seven Days campaigns. During Jackson's celebrated flank march around John Pope's army in the Second Manassas campaign, the 21st Georgia helped to derail several supply trains on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and that night made a forced march to capture the immense Union supply depot at Manassas Junction.

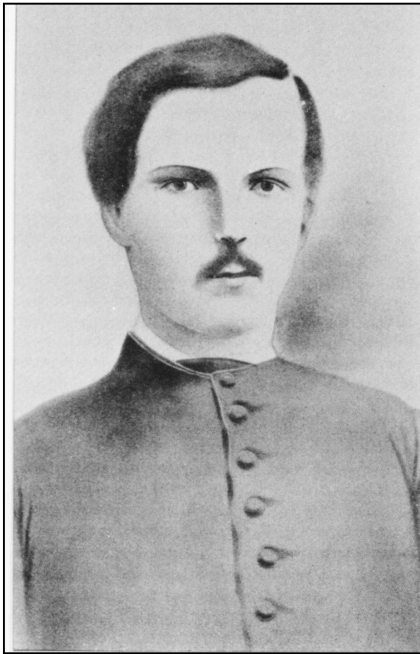
On August 28, Trimble, or "Aunt Nancy," as he was affectionately called by some Confederate soldiers, led his troops against the vaunted Union Iron Brigade to open the brawl of Second Manassas. The 21st Georgia paid heavily for maintaining "Aunt Nancy's" reputation: It lost 146 out of 242 men at Groveton Farm. But there was heavier fighting yet to come. On August 29 and 30, the Georgians tenaciously defended the Railroad Cut against repeated assaults of Pope's army. Upon Trimble's wounding, the brigade emerged under the leadership of a mere captain from the 12th Georgia.⁵

Secession found thirty-one-year-old John T. Mercer as a first lieutenant in the 1st Dragoons, United States Cavalry. When Georgia made her bid for independence, this West Point graduate resigned his commission and was appointed colonel of the 21st Georgia. After the war, his old veterans remembered Colonel Mercer as a brave man and a very strict disciplinarian at times. One veteran thought that Colonel Mercer would have attained higher rank "had it not been for ... the bane of the old army" -- whiskey. At the Battle of First Cold Harbor, June 27, 1862, a veteran remembered that the colonel "had been imbibing freely of the *ardent* and had dismounted and gone to sleep in a pine thicket and it was impossible to arouse him." Trimble placed the colonel under arrest for drunkenness but allowed him the opportunity to redeem himself before the impending engagement at Malvern Hill on July 1. A few hours later, Colonel Mercer again relinquished command because of "sickness" -- probably the result of being too drunk or hung over to continue. After the Seven Days campaign, Trimble charged Mercer with "conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman." Later, an incident in which an inebriated Mercer cut his body servant with a knife resulted in an additional charge of "drunkenness on duty." As a result of the charges, Mercer missed the battles of Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, and Fredericksburg. His trial began on December 20, 1862. At the conclusion of the trial on March 6, 1863, the verdict was "not guilty" on both counts. (However, the court did find Mercer censurable for "the

mode adopted by him in punishing his servant.”) The colonel was reinstated and joined his command for the Chancellorsville campaign. For better or worse, he led his men onto the field at Gettysburg.⁶

The 12th Georgia completed the collection of regiments in the brigade. The boys from Georgia got into the war quickly as part of Robert E. Lee’s ill-fated Cheat Mountain expedition in 1861. The Battle of McDowell on the May 8, 1862, was the first opportunity for the regiment to show its “zeal and chivalry” on the field of battle. Holding a critical position at the center of the Stonewall Jackson’s line, the 12th Georgia sustained 175 men killed and wounded but managed to repulse every assault. However, the regiment’s luck quickly changed when it was assigned to guard Jackson’s supply depot at Front Royal at the end of May. When a large federal force appeared, the colonel of the regiment, Zephaniah T. Conner, left the men to fend for themselves and fled the scene. The regiment quickly routed, 126 men were captured in the debacle, and Conner was later cashiered as a result of his actions. Nevertheless, the 12th Georgia recovered in time to shed more blood in the rest of the Valley and Seven Days campaigns. On August 27, 1862, the 12th Georgia was transferred to Trimble’s brigade and served with the 21st Georgia through the Second Manassas, Sharpsburg, and Fredericksburg battles.⁷

Despite Colonel Conner’s performance, on the brigade and regimental level the 12th Georgia served under a “who’s who” of Confederate officers. General Edward Johnson, who served as division commander in Richard Ewell’s corps at Gettysburg, was the first regimental commander in 1861 and commanded the brigade briefly in 1862. The other brigade commanders included Henry R. Jackson, Arnold Elzey, the irascible Jubal Early, Isaac R. Trimble, and Robert F. Hoke.⁸



Colonel Edward Willis, 12th Georgia Infantry. Thomas, History of the Doles-Cook Brigade.

One quiet day in December 1862, Stonewall Jackson summoned a young staff officer named Edward Willis to headquarters. “Captain Willis,” Jackson said, “you have earned your promotion, sir. You may take your choice between continued service on my staff, with the rank of major, and a majority in an infantry regiment.” Willis, without hesitation, replied, “I’ll take the infantry, general.” A reply that revealed the mettle of the man, as Jackson indicated by saying, “Sorry to lose you, sir; but you’ve made a soldier’s choice; you’ll be assigned to the 12th Georgia.” After assuming command, Edward Willis became one of the promising young commanders in the Army of Northern Virginia. One Confederate officer remarked, “There goes the only man I ever saw who, I think, by possibility might make another Jackson!”⁹

On the January 19, 1863, as part of general brigade consolidation with troops from the same state, the 12th and 21st Georgia were transferred to Ripley’s old brigade, which already contained the 4th and 44th Georgia. These four regiments served together for the remainder of the war. George Doles was appointed commander of the brigade.¹⁰

George Pierce Doles was born on May 14, 1830, in Milledgeville, Georgia, the son of the tailor Josiah Doles and his wife Martha Pierce. He married Sarah

Williams in 1852, and their union produced one daughter. Before the war, Doles was involved in the mercantile business “where he was highly esteemed for his integrity and many good qualities of head and heart.” At the outbreak of the war, he was a middle-class citizen, employed as a bookkeeper, with an estate valued at around \$500.¹¹

From a young age, Doles showed a restless inclination to be involved in military affairs. At the age of sixteen, he attempted to join the army to fight in Mexico. However, he was apprehended while waiting for the stagecoach and returned home. Despite his failure, Doles turned his studies to military tactics. He never received any formal military or secondary education, but nevertheless excelled in his personal study of military sciences. He eventually became the captain of a local militia company called the “Baldwin Blues” and successfully drilled them to a high degree of proficiency. Upon the commencement of the War Between the States, Doles was elected colonel of the 4th Georgia.¹²

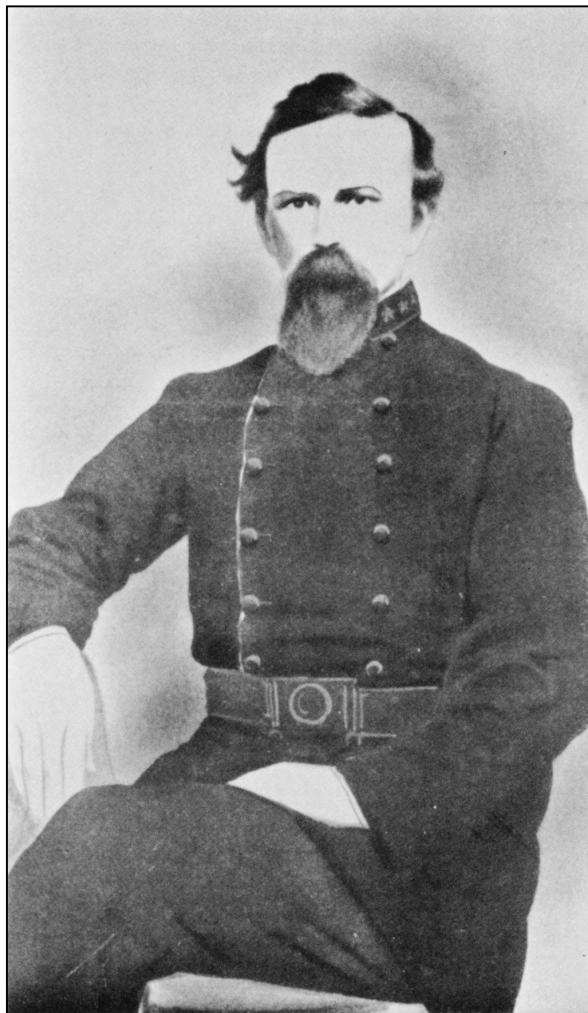
On June 25, 1862, Colonel Doles and the 4th Georgia “saw the elephant” at King’s School House. Six days later the 4th Georgia stormed up Malvern Hill in a futile attempt to capture the Union stronghold. In this attack Doles was wounded by a shell fragment but managed to remain with his troops until the end of the battle. The 4th Georgia arrived too late to participate in the Battle of Second Manassas but marched into Maryland for Lee’s first invasion of the North.¹³

At the Battle of Sharpsburg, General Ripley, the brigade commander, was wounded, and Colonel Doles subsequently took command by seniority. Doles advanced his troops to the edge of Miller’s Cornfield and sustained heavy casualties there, including the loss of three color-bearers. The loss of the 4th Georgia’s Major Robert S. Smith to a piece of Federal canister and the sudden thrust of brigade leadership upon his shoulders may have possibly rattled the first-time brigade commander. The 3rd North Carolina’s Colonel William L. DeRosset recalled in 1885 that upon reporting for orders Colonel Doles said, “Col. I don’t know what to do, I have just lost my Maj., and I wish you would act as you think best.” DeRosset commented, “Disgusted beyond measure I left ...”¹⁴

Despite whatever happened at Sharpsburg, Doles was promoted to brigadier general and the command of Ripley’s brigade on November 1, 1862. At Fredericksburg, the brigade was positioned in the center of the line and missed most of the action. In January, as part of President Jefferson Davis’ consolidation of state troops, Doles assumed command of the Georgia units from Hoke’s and Ripley’s brigades.¹⁵

George Doles’ second opportunity as brigade commander proved more fortuitous than the first. On May 2, 1863, his brigade participated in Stonewall Jackson’s celebrated flank march around the Union army at Chancellorsville. As the sun set, Jackson’s men positioned

themselves in line of battle perpendicular to the Union 11th Corps’ right flank. At 5:30 P.M., the order to advance was given, and Doles’ brigade advanced on the right of the Orange Turnpike



Brigadier General George Doles. Thomas, History of the Doles-Cook Brigade.

toward the unsuspecting Union soldiers. Like hunting quail in a thicket, the Georgians soon flushed their game. General Doles stood up in his stirrups and shouted, "Charge them, Boys!" The old "Rebel Yell" rent the air, telling the Union army that uninvited guests had arrived for supper. "We were ordered forward and the boys all gave a few keen yells and said they intended to have some Yankee crackers before they slept that night," one 21st Georgia officer wrote.¹⁶

Doles' brigade struck the 11th Corps where the Union right flank was positioned in the air. General Doles quickly showed why he was one of the up and coming brigade commanders in the Army of Northern Virginia. Sending the 4th and 44th Georgia to directly assault the Union line, Doles wheeled the 21st to the left to take them in the flank. Simultaneously, he obliqued the 12th Georgia to the right to roll up the Union line in the other direction. After a fight of ten minutes, this position was carried. Doles quickly reformed his brigade and pushed after the retreating Union troops. The advancing Georgians overwhelmed position after position until all their ammunition was exhausted. At the end of the day, the brigade had captured eight cannon and "many" prisoners and General Doles had vindicated his commanders' confidence in him.¹⁷

The Battle of Chancellorsville ended as Lee's greatest victory. However, the price of victory for the Georgians was high. Out of 1,594 men engaged, 437 were killed, wounded, or captured.¹⁸

At the conclusion of the Chancellorsville campaign, the retreat of the Union army left the initiative in the hands of the Confederates. Robert E. Lee, ever audacious, chose to gamble and invade the North in a bold attempt to gain independence for the Confederacy and his beloved Virginia. Before the invasion could begin however, the death of Jackson necessitated a reshuffling of commands in the Army of Northern Virginia. Doles' brigade officially became part of recently promoted Major General Robert Rodes' division and Richard S. Ewell's 2nd Corps.

In early June, the Confederate columns shifted west from Fredericksburg to maneuver around the Union army covering Washington. On June 12 Rodes' division passed through Chester Gap into the Shenandoah Valley and turned north where portions of a small Union force and five artillery pieces were captured at Martinsburg on June 14. On the following day, the Georgians crossed the Potomac River into Maryland and camped at Williamsport. General Rodes' wrote, "A halt at Williamsport was absolutely necessary from the condition of the feet of the unshod men. Very many of these gallant fellows were still marching in ranks with feet bruised, bleeding, and swollen, and withal so cheerfully as to entitle them to be called the heroes of the Pennsylvania campaign. None but the best soldiers could have made such a march under such circumstances."¹⁹

After three days' rest, the march was resumed on June 19 to Hagerstown, Maryland. An additional two days of rest were granted here to allow the rest of Ewell's corps to consolidate. On June 22, Rodes' division became the first Confederate infantry to cross into Pennsylvania. The division went into camp at Greencastle that evening.

At Greencastle, General Rodes received General Orders No. 72 from headquarters, "regulating the conduct of the troops ... while in the enemy's territory" and giving guidelines on how foraging was to be conducted.²⁰ At least in Doles' brigade, these orders were rigidly enforced despite most Georgians' eagerness to visit retribution upon the enemy's land. Private Jack Felder of the 4th Georgia wrote:

I never in all my life seen people half so frighten, they seem to think our chief object is to steel, burn houses, distroy and kill everything north of the Pattommac but I am proud to say they are agreeable disapointed. Our Genl. are strick. They don't allow any stragling whatever and for that reason (and that onley) do they succeed in preventing it to a surtain extent.²¹

Lieutenant - Colonel David Winn of the 4th Georgia also commented on the conduct of the men:

We are emphatically in the enemy's country. No smiling faces, no waving handkerchiefs, no niggers to greet us. And a most beautiful country it is, supplied with every comfort and convenience of life, - and yet while our own beautiful country is desolated terribly by vandals, some of whom are from this very country, I am happy to say that our men neither desire or are permitted to make robbers and outlaws of themselves. They neither burn, pillage, or in any way injure property or persons. Such conduct permitted to an Army of men burning to avenge most cruel and brutal wrongs would utterly demoralize and make it unmanageable. All hope, however, that this people will yet be made to feel some of the horrors of the war such as our own people have been subjected to. And truly this is an awfully frightened population.²²

However, just because the officers kept the men in check did not mean the boys did not eat well in Pennsylvania. Another objective of Lee's army during the campaign was to forage liberally on the Commonwealth and allow Virginia farmers to make a crop back home. General Rodes noted in his report the seizure of 2,000 [?] to 3,000 head of cattle, some of which were sent back to the rest of the army. "Our Army is subsisted entirely off this country," wrote Shepherd Pryor of the 12th Georgia. "We are getting plenty to eat, beef and biscuit."²³

The march north was resumed on June 24. Chambersburg became the first major town encountered by the Georgians in Pennsylvania, and they deemed it necessary to give the inhabitants a grand show. Upon entering the town, the band at the head of the brigade began to play "Dixie" and other Confederate tunes. With arms at right-shoulder shift, the Georgia boys stepped out lively to the music. There were rumors in the ranks that the Northern newspapers had prematurely predicted the Confederacy's demise, and the soldiers lost no time in proclaiming to the gloomy citizens, "Here's your played-out rebellion!" and "Here are your rebels, just from the Okefenokee Swamp."²⁴

The soldiers found the people of Pennsylvania to be a fascinating lot. Doctor Abner E. McGarrity, assistant surgeon for the 44th Georgia, wrote his wife:

I thought My Darling, that I had seen Dutch before but I knew nothing of them till I went to Pa. The people are all Dutch and they are certainly the most ignorant people I ever saw. They know nothing but how to build fine barns. They know but little about the war or anything else. Our negroes, take them in mass, are far their superiors, in point of general information. They are not only ignorant, but the ugliest people I ever saw. I can safely say that I did not see a real pretty woman in Pa. They are generally a very charitable people and either from fear or liberality would give the boys anything to eat.²⁵

After leaving Chambersburg, Doles' brigade and the rest of Rodes' division marched toward Carlisle and arrived at the city on June 27. Doles' men encamped for the next two days on the grounds of Dickinson College while the rest of the division encamped a short distance away at the United States Cavalry barracks. To pass the time and prevent looting, portions of Doles' men were detailed to guard the town.²⁶

The march was resumed on June 30. "Ol' Baldy" Ewell had been utilizing his time in preparation for a flag-raising ceremony at the Pennsylvania state capital of Harrisburg. Instead, word arrived from Lee that he wished for the army to concentrate at Cashtown or "as circumstances might dictate." Therefore Ewell canceled the march to Harrisburg and turned Rodes' division south from Carlisle and marched toward Cashtown.²⁷

It was a warm and pretty June day and the Georgians, well rested from their sojourn in Carlisle, made good time down the Carlisle/Baltimore Turnpike. More small towns were encountered along the route, and the Georgians took the opportunity to continue having fun with

the locals. In one instance, some of the soldiers were lucky enough to receive hugs from some of the local girls. This made J. M. Murry, a private in the 44th Georgia “who was rather corpulent and continued so during the march,” jealous about his comrades’ “good fortune.” With a shake of his head, he bellowed out across the regiment “Here’s your Georgia Bull!” And with that introduction he proceeded over to meet the ladies. The effectiveness of this pick-up line was not recorded.²⁸

Despite the good time the Georgians were having with the ladies, Rodes’ division managed to march twenty-two miles and bivouac at Heidlersburg on the evening of June 30. Shortly after resuming their march on July 1, Ewell received word that Lieutenant General A. P. Hill and his corps were proceeding to Gettysburg from the west. This intelligence prompted Ewell to also turn his troops directly on the road to Gettysburg from the north. As the Georgians trudged along the road that day, the sound of distant artillery greeted their ears. A. P. Hill had stumbled into a hornet’s nest.²⁹

“We had marched very hard and the boys were all very much worn,” wrote Capt. William S. Evans of the 4th Georgia, “but the roar of artillery seemed to give them strength.” A few more miles of marching and the “pop – pop” of small arms from the front of the column added to the din. Confederate skirmishers had uncovered Union cavalry videttes from the 17th Pennsylvania screening the Carlisle road approach to Gettysburg.³⁰

A few moments later, scouts reported to General Rodes that a wooded ridge to the right offered a concealed approach toward the Union flank. The division took a right turn off the Carlisle road at Keckler’s Hill, about three miles north of Gettysburg. Shortly afterwards, Rodes, fearing an ambush in the thickly wooded summit, deployed three brigades to cover his advance, including Doles’ brigade, which screened the left flank of the division.³¹

Around noon, Rodes’ division emerged from the woods onto Oak Hill. This prominence gave the first clear view of Union forces confronting them. Directly in front, the Union 1st Corps was shifting troops toward Oak Hill and, almost simultaneously, the Union 11th Corps was beginning to emerge from the town onto a plain at the base of the hill. The ever-aggressive Robert Rodes, who defined the impetuous combative spirit of the Army of Northern Virginia generals, wrote:

Being thus threatened from two directions, I determined to attack with my center and right, holding at bay still another force, then emerging from the town (apparently with the intention of turning my left), with Doles’ brigade, which was moved somewhat to the left for this purpose, and trusting to this gallant brigade thus holding them until General Early’s division arrived, which I knew would be soon, and which would strike this portion of the enemy’s force on the flank before it could overpower Doles.³²

Thus being entrusted with the crucial task of covering the flank, Doles moved his brigade farther to the left. His final position is hard to determine. Rodes’ report positions the Georgians on the plain between the Carlisle road and Oak Hill. Doles’ left flank probably rested near the road but not across it. At this time, his brigade fronted directly south toward Gettysburg College. In front, a small patch of woods running along an unnamed creek bank obscured the brigade’s view of the town. The division sharpshooting corps (skirmishers), under the command of Major Eugene Blackford of the 5th Alabama, covered Doles’ front and extended around the left flank. On Doles’ right, a wide interval opened between the Georgians and the next Confederate brigade, Colonel Edward O’Neal’s Alabamians. The 5th Alabama regiment was positioned on the slope of Oak Hill to close the gap.³³

From Doles’ perspective, his brigade had been placed in a somewhat precarious position: in the open and unsupported, his left flank in the air, with unknown Union forces beginning to

emerge from the town and develop in his front. All these circumstances, coupled with the warm summer sun, must have given George Doles occasion to use some colorful verbal metaphors.

Nevertheless, George Doles was not one to sit back and watch things unfold. "We made no stop, but soon threw skirmishers in," wrote Captain Evans. The three companies from the 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry that had been opposing the advance of Rodes' division on the Carlisle road, received reinforcements comprising various companies from the 6th and 9th New York Cavalry. The augmented Union force began to heavily pressure O'Neal's sharpshooter battalion, and mounted several attacks from their strong position around Rock Creek and Barlow's Knoll that threatened Doles left flank. This threat could not be ignored. Doles' brigade had two sharpshooter battalions of 60 to 70 men each. One or both of them – the evidence is inconclusive – were dispatched to the left (toward present-day Barlow's Knoll) to reinforce Major Blackford's sharpshooter battalion. After heavy skirmishing, the Georgians and Alabamians succeeded in driving the cavalry off the knoll and occupied the position.³⁴

Doles' could breathe easier with his left flank momentarily secure. The respite quickly came to an end as the unknown force emerging from the town turned out to be the Union 11th Corps – his old opponent from Chancellorsville. The first blue coats on the field, the 45th New York, deployed four companies as skirmishers and moved directly across the Georgians' front from left to right toward the McLean farm in front of the Georgians.³⁵

At about 1:30 P.M., Rodes launched his first attack with portions of O'Neal's Alabama boys on Oak Hill and directed the assault toward the Union 1st Corps' right flank. The Georgians looked on in horror as the small band of skirmishers from the 45th New York flanked the attacking Confederates. O'Neal's brigade was repulsed with heavy loss. This turn of events was not the auspicious start the Johnnies had expected.³⁶

Union reinforcements continued to deploy on the field. First, the rest of Brigadier General Alexander Schimmelfennig's brigade started extending in a wide semi-circle in the fields in front of Doles' brigade. The remaining six companies of the 45th New York joined the four companies already present to bring their total strength to roughly 375 men facing Oak Hill. The 247 men of the 61st Ohio came forward to extend the Union line to the right and across Doles' front. Finally, the 333 men of the 74th Pennsylvania extended from the right of the 61st Ohio across the Carlisle road. As a reserve, the 409 men of the 157th New York were in support of two artillery batteries behind the skirmishers. These reinforcements brought the total of Union troops to the left of the Carlisle road to around 1,359 men. However, the ground to be covered exceeded the capacity of the Union force to occupy it in strength. Therefore, the 45th New York, 61st Ohio, and 74th Pennsylvania were deployed in a strong skirmish line to contest the Confederates.³⁷

The next three hours, from roughly 12 P.M. to 3 P.M., involved heavy skirmishing in front of Doles' brigade. The majority of Georgia soldiers lulled away the afternoon writing letters, cleaning their rifles, or talking amongst themselves. The only reminders that the enemy was a few hundred yards away were the reports of rifles, the occasional glimpse of a skirmisher or two from beyond the small wood line in front, and a random artillery shell to liven things up. For most of the men of both sides, this wait was the hardest part of a battle.

Around 3 P.M. things started to heat up. To the left front, the crack of rifles from Doles' and O'Neal's skirmishers increased from around the area of Barlow's Knoll. Heavy lines of blue-coated skirmishers, followed by columns of Federal infantry, soon emerged from the golden wheat and began to push the Confederate skirmishers back. Soon a Federal battery rolled into position atop the knoll and began sending salutations in the Georgians' directions. It appeared that this seemingly heavy Union infantry force planned to sweep down and roll up Doles' flank and take the rest of Rodes' division in reverse. Orders were quickly issued to counter this new threat. The shouts of the officers were mixed with the clang of bayonets as rifles were taken from the stacks. The brigade performed a left oblique maneuver to face the knoll and the mass of Federal infantry menacing their flank.³⁸

From Doles' vantagepoint, it appeared his 1,323 Georgians might have to contend with a Union assault from two directions. There were roughly 1,300 men from Schimmelfennig's brigade to his right front and another 2,500 men from Barlow's division directly in front of his center and left. If the Union forces could coordinate an attack, he might be driven back and make the rest of the Rodes' division's position on Oak Hill untenable. However, Lady Luck was about to shine on the Confederates.³⁹

As George Doles intently watched Barlow's division deploy on the knoll, a boom of artillery suddenly came from behind his left flank. Soon a long column of Confederate infantry began to appear from the same direction heralding the arrival of Jubal Early and his division coming down the Harrisburg road. The troops filed off the road and deployed into line facing toward the knoll. Early's force had fortuitously arrived directly astride the Union right flank on the knoll. As happens frequently in war, the hunter had now become the hunted.

Atop Oak Hill, Robert Rodes also heard Early's artillery fire. Turning to two of Early's staff already present with him, Rodes said "I have a message for Early." He wrote with a pencil on a small slip of paper:

Heth and Pender are in Reynolds' front. I can burst through the enemy in an hour.
Rodes, Major-General.

When the note was handed to Early, he wrote across the back "All right burst through." It was then returned to Rodes by courier. When Early was informed that Howard's corps was confronting him and Rodes, he laughed and said, "Why, these are the very same chaps that our fellows thrashed and routed at Chancellorsville."⁴⁰

Around 3:30 P.M., a deep-throated roar, like a pack of wildcats, started from atop Oak Hill and rolled down into the valley through Doles' brigade and on through Early's division. Union soldiers instinctively gripped their rifles and turned their heads toward the Confederate position. That sound had been heard before in the dark woods of Chancellorsville. And they all knew what it meant today: Here come the Rebels!

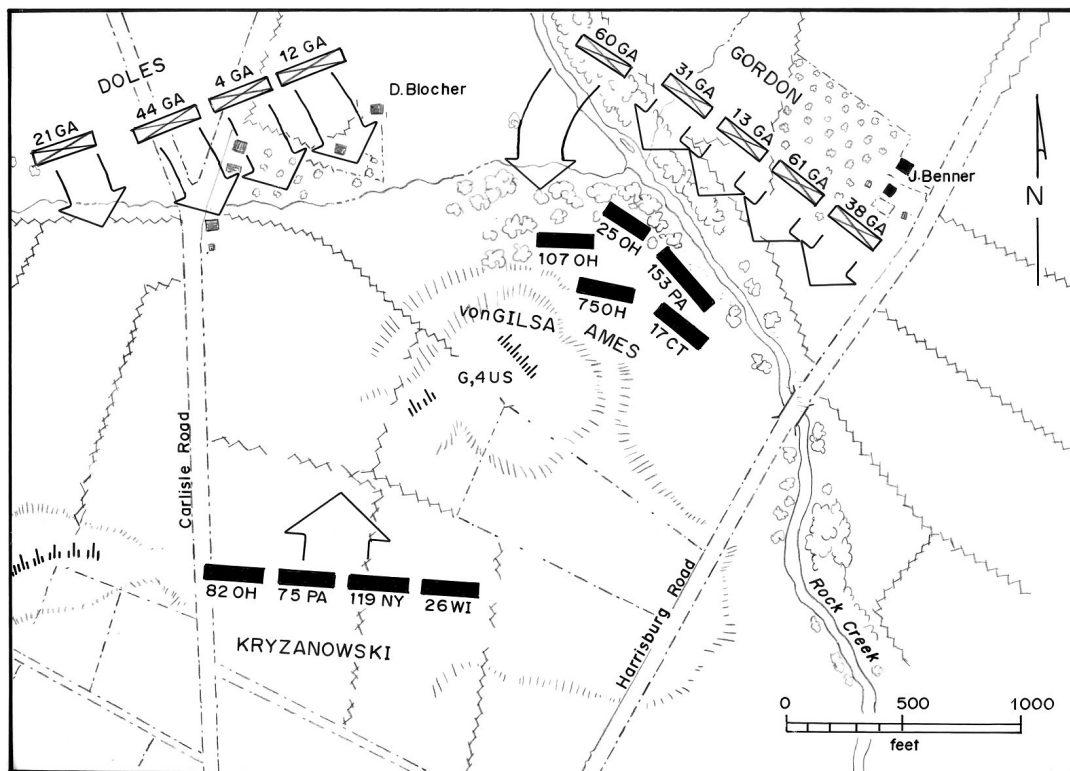
As the Confederate war cry faded into the distance, Doles surveyed the situation around him. To his right, Rodes was attacking with two fresh brigades. To his left, he could clearly see the 1,800 men of Brigadier General John B. Gordon's Georgia Brigade moving toward Barlow's Knoll. This was the supreme moment! Now was the time to strike! Without waiting for orders, Doles joined the attack.⁴¹

The soldiers stepped out lively, glad that the wait was finally over. Their nervousness was abated momentarily when Doles' "bob-tail brown" horse decided that this fighting was not to his liking. "Straight as a bullet and going at full speed," the horse raced toward the Union lines. A few yards before reaching the enemy's position, the general made a split-second decision and bailed off the horse -- a sore posterior being much more desirable than capture.⁴²

Doles' four regiments began the advance aligned as follows: the 12th Georgia on the left, 4th Georgia, 44th Georgia, and finally the 21st Georgia on the right. The Union skirmish line from Colonel George Von Amsberg's brigade braced for the attack. Like "sweeping chaff before the wind," the Georgians brushed aside the 61st Ohio and 74th Pennsylvania and kept on going.⁴³

Doles' men moved steadily forward toward the knoll. The brigade wheeled right just before crossing the Blocher farm to align itself on Gordon's right. There was no time to waste. Already, John B. Gordon's fat Georgia Brigade was slightly ahead of Doles and beginning its attack across Rock Creek. Unless they wanted to lag behind their fellow Georgians, the men must push on quickly.⁴⁴

Doles' brigade splashed across Blocher's Run as the cacophony of small arms fire reached a crescendo from the knoll on its left. The 12th, 4th, and 44th Georgia executed a right wheel and emerged on the left (east) side of the Carlisle road. The 21st Georgia was positioned on



Doles and Gordon strike Barlow. Map by John Heiser

the right, or opposite side of the road. A hill in front hid the men from view of Wladimir Krzyzanowski's approaching Union column. After dressing their lines and resuming the advance, the Georgians girded themselves for what they knew they must inevitably face on the other side of the hill.

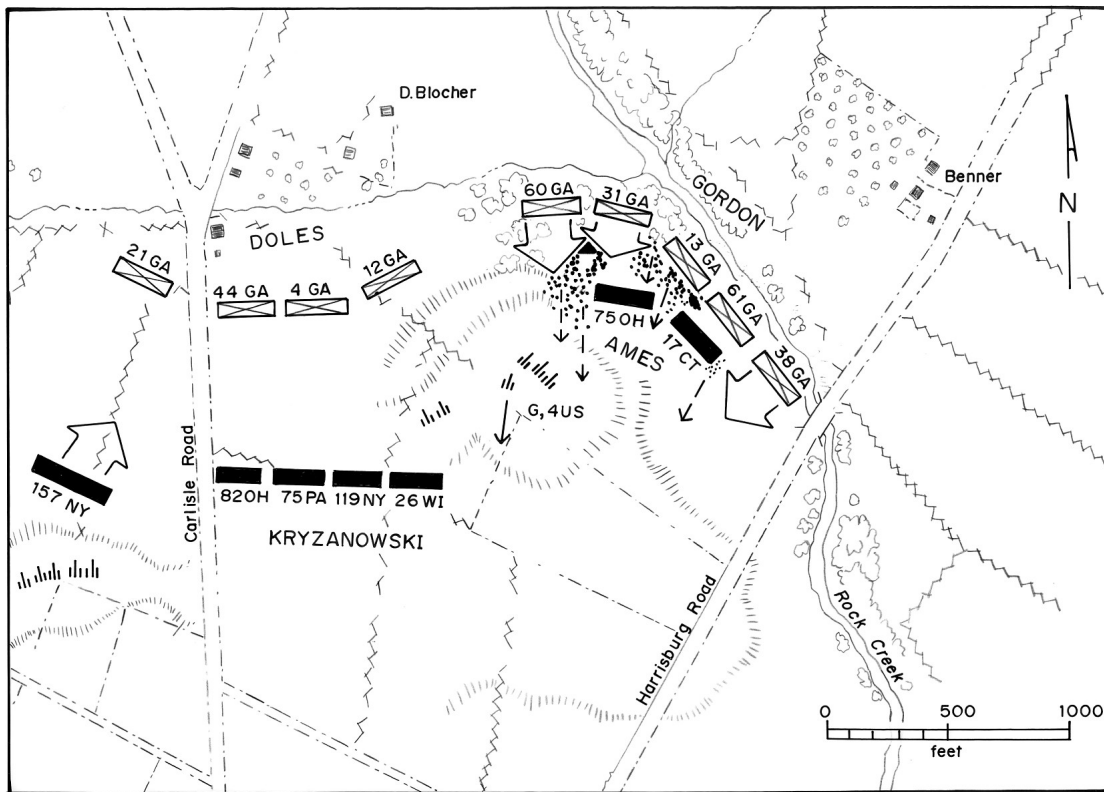
Help was on the way for the Union forces. Colonel Krzyzanowski's 1,400-man brigade had been positioned in reserve "to the right of the road, and a few hundred yards back of the Poor House Lane." Now the Union men were summoned to plug the gap between Barlow's and Schimmelfennig's divisions. The Union regiments deployed from column into line, faced to the right, and descended into the gradually sloping ground for a date with destiny.⁴⁵

Krzyzanowski's boys had barely reached a position in an open wheat field when the remnants of the 61st Ohio and 74th Pennsylvania came bounding over the hill and through their lines with Doles' skirmishers hot on their trail. "A moment or two of breathless anxiety and impatience, and the irregular line of butternut and gray hove gradually in sight" wrote Theodore A. Dodge of the 119th New York, "— their officers all mounted, waving their swords and cheering on their men."⁴⁶

As the Georgians hove into plain sight atop a hill at the far end of a wheat field, Krzyzanowski's boys rushed forward and deployed into battle line. The Federals were instantly ordered to "let them have it." The Georgians quickly returned the compliment and soon the golden wheat was enveloped with white smoke as the crash of musketry reached a crescendo.⁴⁷ For the next thirty minutes, both sides stood toe to toe and poured death into each other's bosoms. Starting from roughly one hundred yards away, Krzyzanowski's men attempted an advance across the field against a withering fire as the Georgians simultaneously advanced to meet them. As the lines closed together Captain Evans remembered, "Yankees were in large numbers, and fought more stubbornly than I ever saw them, or ever want to see them again. Several times we were not fifty yards apart. Twice the Yankees fixed bayonets and thought they were going to

meet us hand to hand, but our boys raised a shout and rushing forward, pushed them back, fighting us all the time.” Men dropped like flies as the bullets hummed all around them.⁴⁸

As the minutes ticked by, casualties escalated. Theodore Dodge estimated that fully one quarter of Krzyzanowski’s men were dead or wounded after ten minutes of fighting “but still firing went on, neither side showing signs of wavering.” Through the smoke Dodge could see Doles’ officers racing back and forth behind their lines to keep the Georgians firing. Another Confederate remembered, “The yankees would walk back about ten steps and load and fire at us. We got in about fifty yards of the yanks. Several times.” One side or the other had to give.⁴⁹



Doles engages Kryzanowski. Barlow's division collapses. Map by John Heiser

After roughly thirty minutes, the Georgians' steady marksmanship had taken its toll. Union fire began to slacken. Doles' ordered his men forward. "The enemy's line now came forward in fine style," remembered a captain in Krzyzanowski's brigade. The crimson flags were flaunted more impudently than ever, and the entire Confederate force breathed exultation and defiance.⁵⁰

The 4th, 44th, and 12th Georgias forward movement was not a charge at a full run as is often imagined of Civil War battles; instead it was a steady walk, with the men loading and firing as they advanced. "When we were ordered forward our brigade charged with that soul-stirring rebel yell, which once heard on the field of battle can never be forgotten," recalled one Confederate.⁵¹

Colonel Winn of the 4th Georgia moved to the front of the line to lead his men onward. Being such a conspicuous target, the inevitable happened and after only a few steps the colonel dropped to the ground. Captain William Evans rushed forward to assist but found a Union bullet had struck Winn in the head, killing him instantly.⁵²

A post-war newspaper account presents the rest of the story:

One morning, the one after the battle, his wife, who lived in Americus, entered her parlor, where upon the wall had hung a handsome painting of her husband. As she glanced up she was horror-stricken on seeing that the painting had fallen from the wall, and in doing so the face had been pierced by a chair post which stood beneath where it hung. Rushing from the house she went at once to a neighbor and related the occurrence, adding that she firmly believed the



Lt. Colonel David Winn, 4th Georgia Infantry. Thomas, History of the Doles-Cook Brigade

captain(sic) had been killed in the fight the day previous. On the arrival of the train, news of the battle was brought and among the first names in the list of those killed was that of her gallant husband. The strangest feature about the killing, however, was that he had been shot in the face, in the identical spot where the chair had pierced the canvas.⁵³

Back on the fields north of Gettysburg, the outlook was bleak for Krzyzanowski's blue-clad soldiers. On the right, Barlow's was in full retreat. Confederate artillery from Early's division had found the range by now and was adding its iron to the fray. All these factors combined with Doles' men attacking from the front proved to be enough. Krzyzanowski's line melted away. "... many of the Federals threw down their arms... and we charged right over them," wrote one Georgian.⁵⁴

Doles' men must have felt the soldier's elation of old that only comes from seeing your enemy flee before your eyes. But the Confederates would have little time to savor their triumph.

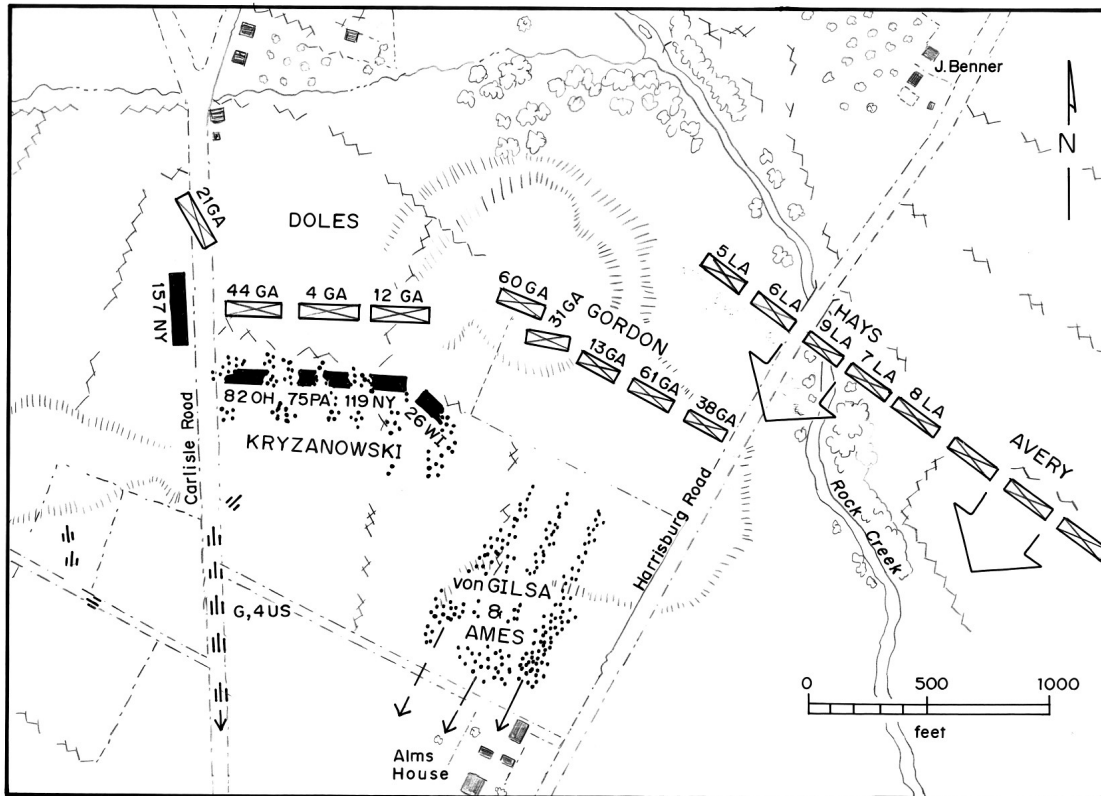
Colonel John T. Mercer and the men of the 21st Georgia anchored the right of the brigade during the initial advance. As Doles' men emerged from Blocher's Run, the 21st found itself on the western side of the Carlisle road, opposite from the rest of the regiments. In this area, the Carlisle road slowly ascends

as it moves south away from Rock Creek. At the top of the hill, a swale on the left side of the road obscured most of Doles' other three regiments from view. The ground to the right of the 21st slowly dropped into a low marshy area and an even deeper depression.

It was from this low ravine to the right that Colonel John T. Mercer of the 21st first saw a new Federal force heading for the brigade's flank. It was the 400-man 157th New York Infantry with orders to attack the Confederate right flank in conjunction with Krzyzanowski's assault.

Colonel Mercer reacted quickly to meet the Federal challenge by wheeling his regiment right, advancing a short distance across a wheat field, and opening fire. "Having attracted their fire," Mercer recalled, "and finding their force too strong for the exposed position we then occupied, we fell back some 40 yards to a lane, where we awaited their approach."⁵⁵

From the relative safety of the Carlisle road embankment, the Georgians regrouped and reloaded. Seconds ticked by. The sound of rustling wheat began to move closer, steadily closer. Now the blue line appeared over the hill, a mere fifty yards away. A steady "click" went down the Confederate line as the musket hammers were brought to full cock. The command was given: "Ready!" The gray line rose ... and for a split second, the boys from Georgia and New York



Barlow's division dissolves and Kryzanowski's line begins to fray. Map by John Heiser

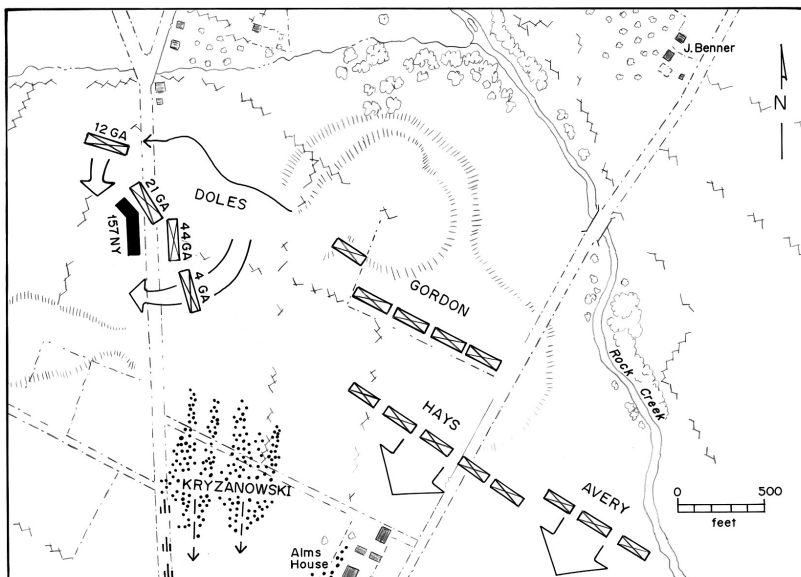
stared eye to eye with each other. "Fire!" White smoke engulfed the Confederate line as the muskets exploded in one continuous volley sending their deadly missiles on their errand. The Yankee line recoiled, but the officers quickly pressed their men back to the deadly work. Both lines began to fire in earnest.⁵⁶

As the 21st Georgia exchanged volleys with the New Yorkers, General Doles and many of the field officers were gathered on the brigade's left. The sound of musketry that grew steadily louder from their right flank quickly brought the conference to an end. Soon Doles had orders flying to each of his various regiments: "by the right flank." The veterans of so many campaigns did not need further instructions. By instinct, each regiment's column deployed once again into line of battle as it reached the Carlisle road.⁵⁷

The 44th Georgia, being closest to the Carlisle road, became the first regiment to add its muskets to the fray. The regiment's right flank overlapped the left of the 21st in the depression of the Carlisle road. Soon the 4th Georgia's men connected on the 44th's left flank. Doles sent his remaining regiment, the 12th Georgia, marching behind the original line to extend the brigade's right and flank the 157th New York. Within a matter of minutes, George Doles had three regiments confronting the New Yorkers and a fourth on the way.⁵⁸

With so much firepower confronting the New Yorkers, the end result was not in doubt. Not being able to stand in place and unwilling to retreat, the 157th New York's officers ordered an advance. The blue line staggered forward and then recoiled. The blue line "halted and stood up for a time and took their medicine, giving their best." After awhile the Union troops started to crouch in the golden field and continue fighting "in Indian fashion." Rebel bullets made little furrows as they zipped through the wheat.⁵⁹

The men from the Empire State stood against the Rebel onslaught for roughly twenty minutes -- twenty minutes of death, carnage, and pure hell! As one New Yorker stated, "O! how

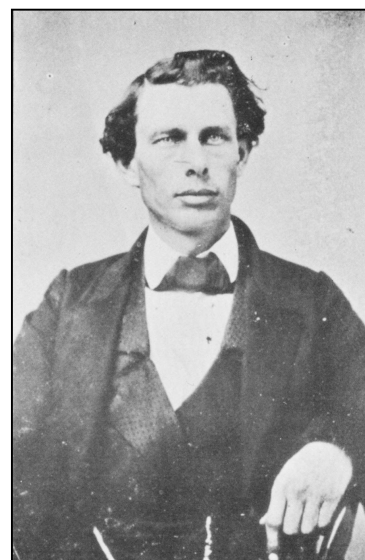


Barlow in retreat. Doles drives Kryzanowski from the field. The 157th New York moves against Doles's flank. Map by John Heiser

those four Georgia regiments did pour the lead into us in that wheat field ... and the men fell like daisies before the mower's scythe."⁶⁰

Doles' men sensed that victory was at hand. With one giant surge, the Georgians moved forward down the embankment into the Carlisle road and crossed over into a wheat field. A battery of Union artillery located at the edge of town peppered the Confederates with canister in the flank in a vain attempt to stop the advance. "But nothing seemed to be able to withstand the impetuosity of our men," remembered Major W. H. Peebles of the 44th Georgia. Lieutenant Colonel S. P. Lumpkin, commanding the 44th Georgia, went down with a wound in the right knee that proved mortal, as he crossed the road. However, with the Union line shot to pieces, it became either flight or surrender for the New Yorkers. The Johnnies rushed to and fro gobbling up prisoners in the wheat. "What did you-uns stand up like that for, and be shot down?" asked one perplexed Georgian of a soldier of the 157th New York.⁶¹

Before all the prisoners from the 157th New York could be gathered up and marched down the Carlisle road, George Doles had his brigade march into Gettysburg in an attempt to stop the remaining Union forces from reaching Cemetery Hill. Doles' brigade became the first from Rodes' division to enter the town. The pursuit was greatly hampered by the scores of additional blue-coat prisoners being gathered from the alleyways, houses, and streets. Doles finally brought his men to a halt on an east-west axis on what is today known as Middle Street.⁶²



Lt. Colonel Samuel P. Lumpkin, 44th Georgia. Thomas, History of the Doles-Cook Brigade

As the men from Georgia fixed bayonets and stacked arms in Gettysburg, they felt a great deal of pride over their brigade's accomplishments. The two principal Union brigades, led by Von Amsberg and Krzyzanowski, collectively outnumbered the Georgians by more than two

to one. Union casualties suffered by these brigades amounted to a startling 50-percent killed, wounded, and captured. The 157th New York virtually ceased to exist, having suffered a more than 75 percent casualty rate.⁶³

In stark contrast, the 12th, 21st, 4th, and 44th Georgia suffered only a 16 percent casualty rate or 219 killed, wounded, and captured out of 1,323 men engaged. Lieutenant Thomas Hightower of the 21st Georgia thought his men had been “most fortunate” in the battle and summed up the Confederates' low casualty rate this way: “The reason was that we routed them at the beginning and kept them going and they did not have much time to shoot at us except when they were running and then not with much judgment.”⁶⁴

In his official report General Doles attributed “the success of this command” to several of his officers and, indeed, the officers had performed well. But in the end, the success or failure of any command rests on the shoulders of the commander, and possibly no brigadier general distinguished himself on July 1, 1863, more than George Doles. When the brigade deployed for battle in the early afternoon, Doles' command was the extreme left flank of the Confederate line. Until the arrival of Early's division, Doles' 1,300 men were confronted by more than 5,000 Union troops comprising Schimmelfinnig's and Barlow's divisions. There is no record extant that Doles' ever called for reinforcements. When Barlow's division moved to the knoll and threatened his left flank, instead of retreating Doles calmly wheeled the brigade to confront the new threat.

Upon the arrival of Early's command, Doles exercised initiative in moving his brigade forward without orders to attack in unison with Gordon's brigade. With only the three regiments located east of the Carlisle road, roughly 1,000 men, he slugged it out with Krzyzanowski's brigade and drove it from the field. When the 157th New York appeared on the right flank, George Doles executed brigade-level tactical movements as good as any during the war. He changed the front of two regiments ninety degrees and shifted his extreme left regiment to his right. This maneuver was no easy matter to do on a parade field, much less while being shot at by an enemy. To the credit of the officers and men, the maneuvers seemed to be executed flawlessly.

For the next two days of the Battle of Gettysburg, Doles' boys were positioned in front of the western face of Cemetery Hill. While the brigade did not see any more major action, it did suffer several casualties from artillery fire, both enemy and friendly. On July 4, Robert E. Lee withdrew his army to Virginia and the invasion came to end. Jack Felder, of the 4th Georgia, announced in a letter home, “You may be assured that there never was [a] Souldier prouder to see his home than I was to see once more the land of Dixey.”⁶⁵

It had been a costly invasion. There were more than 28,000 Confederate casualties, 219 from Doles' brigade. A tall gray monument stands upon the fields of Gettysburg today. Erected by the people of Georgia, it's simple epitaph serves as an ageless tribute to her soldiers. It reads:

“We sleep here in obedience to law. When duty called we came. When country called we died.”

Notes

¹ Henry W. Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade* (Dayton: Morning House, Inc., [1903] 1988), 64-72.

² Ibid., 79. D.R.W. Winn, *The Letters of David Read Evans Winn*, Lt. Colonel, 4th Georgia Regiment, To His Wife, 1861-63 (Special Collections, The Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta).

³ U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* ([Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889] Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Historical Times, 1985), Series I, 11(2):656-657. [Hereafter cited as *OR*.] However, Col. William L. DeRosset of the 3rd North Carolina said the 44th "ran like dogs at Mechanicsville." If it is true, the 44th Georgia would not be the first unit to have a hard time at its baptism of fire. William L. DeRosset to Daniel H. Hill, June 18, 1885, D.H. Hill Papers, Virginia State Archives.

⁴ Ibid., 485.

⁵ John J. Hennessy, *Return To Bull Run* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 184. Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 355; Randall Allen and Keith S. Bohannon, *Campaigning with "Old Stonewall"* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 167.

⁶ James Cooper Nisbet, *Four Years On The Firing Line* (Jackson: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1963), 13, 25, 64, 72-73. Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 349, relates that Colonel Mercer ordered his men, sick with measles, out of their tents into the rain when the regiment moved to Manassas. Captain Glover, a physician, refused to obey and was placed under arrest. "Almost all the other company officers of the regiment took sides with Captain Glover, and the breach thus made was never healed as long as the principals lived." Allen and Bohannon, *Campaigning with "Old Stonewall"*, 216. *OR*, Series I, 12, 19, 21, and 25. Several letters from Capt. Ujanirtus Allen to his wife in October 1862, contained in Allen and Bohannon, *Campaigning with "Old Stonewall"*, mention 21st Georgia officers in open mutiny and under arrest when Col. Mercer was temporarily reinstated to command. While convalescing from his wounds from the Battle of Second Manassas, Gen. Trimble wrote headquarters urging the charges be reinstated and a trial held. Hence, the court-martial hearing in December. Upon Mercer's acquittal, several officers of the 21st Georgia resigned.

⁷ Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 1, 195-199. Shepherd G. Pryor, *A Post of Honor: The Pryor Letters, 1861 - 63*, (Fort Valley: Garret Publications, Inc.), 195. Jack A. Bunch, *Roster of the Court-Martial in the Confederate States Armies*, (Shippensburg: White Mane Books, 2001), 73.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Robert Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*, (Marietta: R. Bemis Publishing, Ltd., [1903] 1995), 121-122, 124.

¹⁰ Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 1.

¹¹ Ibid., 47-50. Keith Bohannon, *The Confederate General*, 2:72-73. Jon L. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (Westport: Greenwood Press, [DATE]), 172. Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, Inc., 1962), 6:412 - 413.

¹² *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy* (1993), s.v. "George Pierce Doles."

¹³ Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 49.

¹⁴ Ibid., 69. William L. De-Rosset to Daniel H. Hill, June 18, 1885, D.H. Hill Papers, Virginia State Archives. Thanks to historian Scott Hartwig for a copy of this letter.

¹⁵ Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 49, 70-71.

¹⁶ Ibid., 72. Letter from Thomas H. Hightower to fiancée, May 8, 1863. Courtesy of the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

¹⁷ *OR*, Series I, 25:967.

¹⁸ Ibid., 969.

¹⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27 (2): 546-550.

²⁰ Ibid., 551. *OR*, Series I, 27(3): 912-913.

²¹ Mary Givens Bryan, ed., *Letters of a Private In The Confederate Army*. Letter written by Jack Felder dated June 23, 1863. Courtesy of the Georgia Department of Archives and History.

²² Winn, *The Letters of David Read Evans Winn*. Letter dated June 26, 1863.

²³ Pryor, *A Post of Honor: The Pryor Letters, 1861 - 63*, 369.

²⁴ W.G. Whitaker, *A Part of War and Prison Life of W.G. Whitaker, Company H, Fourth Georgia*, Pamphlet Collection, Duke University Library. Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 7 - 8.

²⁵ Dr. Abner E. McGarrity to his wife, July 16, 1863, in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 29:162., Courtesy of the Georgia Archives and History. It is interesting to note that a large portion of the soldiers were writing their wives when commenting on the women of Pennsylvania. Thanks to Keith Bohannon for directing me to this letter.

²⁶ *OR*, Series I, 27(2): 551.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 552.

²⁸ John H. Harris, *Diary of Captain John H. Harris*, Gettysburg National Military Park Vertical Files.

²⁹ *OR*, Series I, 27(2): 552.

³⁰ Captain William S. Evans, Company B, 4th Georgia Infantry, to his sister, October 9, 1863, in U.D.C. Bound Typescripts, Vol. 10. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives and History and Keith Bohannon. *OR*, Series I, 27(2): 559. H.P. Moyer, *History of the Seventeenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry*, (Lebanon: Sowers Printing Co., 1911), 60.

³¹ Lt. Col. Wayne Wachsmuth, *Ewell's Approach*, (Gettysburg: Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg, Inc., 1998), 5. *OR*, Series I, 27(2): 552.

³² *Ibid.*, 552-553.

³³ *Ibid.*, 552. Without using hindsight, you can readily see why Rodes would be apprehensive about his left flank. His worst fear was an attack on his left. The selection of the Georgia Brigade speaks volumes about George Doles.

³⁴ Evans, Letter to his sister, Oct. 9, 1863. Moyer, *History of the Seventeenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry*, 60. Newel Cheney, *History of the Ninth New York Volunteer Cavalry*, (Poland Center, New York, 1901), 109. *OR*, Series I, 27(1): 939. Although the 6th New York Cavalry's location cannot be precisely pinpointed, it seems logical that the 6th would have joined the rest of the brigade after being relieved from the Mummasburg road. *OR*, Series I, 27(2): 597, 582. Pryor, *A Post of Honor: The Pryor Letters, 1861 – 63*, 358. Each brigade in Rodes' division had a sharpshooter battalion consisting of men from each regiment, and numbering about 150 men. Doles brigade is somewhat unusual in that they organized their sharpshooters into two battalions, which were essentially the equivalent of companies in the other battalions. One battalion contained men detailed from the 4th and 12th Georgia and the other battalion from the 21st and 44th. Each battalion numbered around 60 to 70 men under the command of a captain. Thanks to Licensed Battlefield Guide Ed Guy for directing me to the Shepherd Pryor letters.

³⁵ *New York Monuments Commission, Final Report on the Battlefield of Gettysburg*, (Albany: J.B. Lyon Co., 1902) 1: 378. [Hereafter referred to as *N.Y.M.C.*]

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 378.

³⁷ *N.Y.M.C.* 1:378. *O.R.*, Series I, 27(1): 734, 738. John W. Busey and David G. Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg* (Hightstown, New Jersey: Longstreet House, 1994), 254. Samuel P. Bates, *History of Pennsylvania Volunteers 1861 – 5*, (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1993), 4:896. Bates puts the strength of the 74th Pennsylvania. at 134 men. This number is far too small if compared to the losses reported by Bates and Busey/Martin. Therefore, Busey/Martin's effective strength was utilized.

³⁸ *OR*, Series I, 27(2): 597, 582.

³⁹ Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*, 289, 254, 253.

⁴⁰ W.H. Swallow, *Southern Bivouac*, IV (Dec. 1885), 440.

⁴¹ Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*, 286. *OR*, Series I, 27(2): 554.

⁴² George Doles, *Compiled Service Records of Confederate General and Staff Officers*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives. C.D. Grace, *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville: Broadfoot Publishing Co., 1897), 614.

⁴³ Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 475. Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*, 254. Despite roughly 575 men between the 61st Ohio and 74th Pennsylvania opposing the Georgians, neither side wrote much about the initial combat. The regimental losses are comparatively light next to the 45th New York and 157th New York units. All these factors possibly indicate that these two German regiments lived up to their reputation in the Union Army.

⁴⁴ Col. Arthur T. Lee, 82nd Ohio, February 16, 1888, in David L. and Audrey J. Ladd, eds., *The Bachelder Papers* (Dayton Ohio: Morningside Press, 1994), 3:1526. "Blocker (who resides in the position north of the position we held) says the troops which passed the house had descended from Oak Hill and just before reaching his house changed direction to the right. But Blocker's chances for observations were limited, and he could easily have been mistaken." Blocker (actually spelled Blocher) probably did not see anything during the battle. However, during the post-war period Blocher had the opportunity to speak with many veterans who probably gave him the information.

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- ⁴⁵ Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*, 255. Ladd and Ladd, eds., *The Bachelder Papers*, 3:1528.
- ⁴⁶ Theodore Ayrault Dodge, Adjutant, 119th N.Y., *Putnam's Magazine*, September, 1869.
- ⁴⁷ Captain Alfred E. Lee, Co. E, 82nd Ohio, *Lippincott's Magazine*, July, 1883.
- ⁴⁸ Evans, letter to his sister dated October 9, 1863, U.D.C. Bound Typescripts, Vol. 10.
- ⁴⁹ Dodge, *Putnam's Magazine*, September, 1869. N. E. Scott, 12th Georgia, letter to his father dated July 16, 1863. Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University. Thanks to Susanne Bauman for retrieving this letter.
- ⁵⁰ Lee, *Lippincott's Magazine*, July, 1883.
- ⁵¹ Dodge, *Putnam's Magazine*, September, 1869. Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 8.
- ⁵² Evans, letter to his sister dated October 9, 1863, U.D.C. Bound Typescripts, Vol. 10.
- ⁵³ *Compiler*, October 11, 1887. Courtesy of the Georgia Archives and History.
- ⁵⁴ Dodge, *Putnam's Magazine*, September, 1869. Lee, *Lippincott's Magazine*, July, 1883. Thomas, *History of the Doles-Cook Brigade*, 475.
- ⁵⁵ OR, Series I,27(2), 585.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid. Hightower to fiancée dated July 7, 1863. Courtesy of the Georgia Department of Archives and History. A. R. Barlow, *Company G: A record of the services of one company of the 157th N. Y. Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion*, (Syracuse: A.W. Hall Publisher, 1890), 127-29.
- ⁵⁷ Grace, *Confederate Veteran*, 614.
- ⁵⁸ OR, Series I,27(2): 585-586.
- ⁵⁹ Barlow, *Company G*, 127 – 29.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid. *A Regiment Remembered: The 157th New York Volunteers*, (Courtland County Historical Society, Publication No. 22, 1996), 76. From the diary of Captain William Saxton.
- ⁶¹ OR, Series I,27(2): 586. OR, Series I,27(1): 752. *N.Y.M.C.*, 3:1060. Barlow, *Company G*, 127-29.
- ⁶² OR, Series I,27(2): 555.
- ⁶³ Busey and Martin, *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg*, 254-255.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 289. Hightower to fiancée dated July 7, 1863. A summation of casualties for the units involved in the first day of battle is hard to calculate because some additional casualties occurred on July 2 and 3 for all three brigades. However, none of the units was involved in any heavy combat like that of July 1. The vast majority of the casualties occurred the first day. Hence I have taken the total casualties given in *Regimental Strengths and Losses at Gettysburg* and applied it to the first day.
- ⁶⁵ Bryan, ed., *Letters of a Private In The Confederate Army*, Letter from Jack Felder dated July 18, 1863.